

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 ACDA-07 DHA-02 MCT-01 /112 W
-----092359 190215Z /70

O R 182327Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4946
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2651

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PROG, UN, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: REVISED TALKING POINTS FOR BRIEFING OF
SOUTH AFRICA

REF: STOCKHOLM 3431 (NOTAL)

1. THE WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP AGREED AUGUST 18, AD
REFERENDUM TO CAPITALS, ON THE FOLLOWING FINAL TEXT OF TALKING
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POINTS FOR USE IN BRIEFING SOUTH AFRICA ON THE WESTERN FIVE
TALKS WITH SWAPO. THE REVISION INCORPORATES THE SUBSTANCE OF
AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S COMMENTS ON AN EARLIER UKUN DRAFT (REFTEL),
AS WELL AS A FEW SUGGESTIONS BY THE OTHER FOUR.

2. PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE IS A NEW PARAGRAPH "M" CONCERNING THE
GAZETTING OF THE ADMINSTRATOR-GENERAL.

QUOTE

FOR SOUTH AFRICA

(A) THE CONTACT GROUP'S TALKS WITH SWAPO WERE BUSINESSLIKE, AND SWAPO WERE LED FOR THE FIRST TIME TO DISCUSS SERIOUSLY POSSIBLE PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS.

(B) SWAPO'S INITIAL PRESENTATION LISTED THOSE MAIN PRINCIPLES WHICH IN THEIR VIEW HAD TO BE MET IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. THOSE WHICH SHOULD NOT CAUSE DIFFICULTIES WERE FREE ELECTIONS, UNIMPEDED PROGRESS TO GENUINE INDEPENDENCE, RESPECT AND PRESERVATION OF PUBLIC PROPERTY, RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA, AND THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NAMIBIA. THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY WAS NOT RAISED BY EITHER SIDE.

(C) IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE MAIN OBSTACLES RELATED TO THE NATURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND, MORE IMPORTANT, TO SWAPO'S DEMAND THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETELY WITHDRAWN BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. SWAPO MAINTAINED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONDUCT A FAIR AND FREE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN WHILE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAINED. THE TALKS CONCENTRATED ON THESE TWO ISSUES, AND SECONDLY ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(D) ON WITHDRAWAL, AND THE RELATED QUESTION OF MILITARY DISPOSITIONS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, THE MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS WERE SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE TO A CEASEFIRE AND THE CONFINEMENT TO BASE OF THEIR FORCES. WE DID NOT DISCUSS THE DETAILED CONDITIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE, BUT IT WAS AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE, THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ENDORSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND THAT IT WOULD TAKE EFFECT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE UN ELEMENT. AT THIS STAGE, WE DID NOT DISCUSS WHERE SWAPO'S TROOPS WOULD BE CONFINED ON AND AFTER THE DATE OF THE CEASEFIRE. SWAPO HAVE, HOWEVER, ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE THAT SUCH CONFINEMENT SHOULD BE SUPERVISED BY UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS.

(E) SWAPO INSISTED UPON A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE. THEY DID NOT HAVE ANY FIXED IDEAS ABOUT THE SIZE OF SUCH A FORCE BUT MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE OF A SIZE SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE A FAIR ELECTORAL PROCESS.

WE SUGGESTED THAT THE UN'S CHEIF RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS FIELD WAS TO SUPERVISE A CEASEFIRE AND THAT THIS COULD EQUALLY AS WELL BE EFFECTED BY CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PERSONNEL UNDER THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S DIRECTION AS BY A PEACEKEEPING FORCE. A POSSIBLE WAY OF DEALING WITH THIS MIGHT BE THE ORGANIZATION OF AN APPROPRIATE NUMBER OF MILITARY PERSONNEL AS A GROUP ATTACHED TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

(F) ON THE QUESTION OF THE RATE OF WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES, SWAPO INSISTED THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SWAPO'S POSITION MAY BE FAR REMOVED FROM YOUR OWN. HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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SWAPO'S POSITION MAY PROVE TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXIBLE THAN THEY WOULD ADMIT INITIALLY IF YOU DEMONSTRATE FLEXIBILITY. TO BUILD CONFIDENCE, WE NOW URGENTLY NEED FROM YOU AN ILLUSTRATIVE PLAN OF PHASED AND SUBSTANTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR FORCES. WE WOULD REMIND YOU, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT WE HAVE REQUESTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA DRAW UP A WITHDRAWAL PLAN ON THREE PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. IN OUR VIEW THIS IS AN AREA IN WHICH SUBSTANTIAL COM-PROMISE WILL HAVE TO BE MADE IF AGREEMENT IS TO BE REACHED. A PROPERLY SUPERVISED CEASEFIRE SHOULD GREATLY REDUCE THE NEED FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF FORCES IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2651

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

(G) AS WE HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED, SWAPO RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF THE POLICE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. WE HAVE NOT DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION IN ANY DETAIL WITH YOU SO FAR, BUT WOULD LIKE TO DO SO WHEN WE NEXT MEET.

(H) AS REGARDS THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, SWAPO INITIALLY TOOK THE POSITION THAT WHILE THEY DID NOT OBJECT TO THE PRESENCE OF SOME SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL IN THE TRANSI-
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TIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF NAMIBIA, THE UN HAD TO BE IN A DOMINANT POSITION. WE REPLIED THAT SWAPO'S POSITION MERELY REAFFIRMED THE STANDARD UN JURIDICIAL VIEW OF THE PROBLEM, AND WE TOLD SWAPO THAT THE EXPRESSION "THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WOULD HAVE TO SATISFY THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AT ALL STAGES" SHOULD FULLY MEET SWAPO'S PREOCCUPATIONS. SWAPO EVENTUALLY AGREED THAT, WHATEVER THE TERMINOLOGY, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD HAVE TO HAVE THE POWER TO APPROVE THE ACTIONS OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, IN SO FAR AS THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS WAS CONCERNED. ON THIS BASIS, SWAPO WOULD NOT OPPOSE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL BY SOUTH AFRICA. WE BELIEVE THAT, THOUGH BOTH SIDES WILL NO DOUBT PRESENT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN THEIR OWN WORDS, THERE DO NOW APPEAR TO BE PROSPECTS OF AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MATTER. IN PARTICULAR, SWAPO UNDERSTOOD THAT WHILE "APPROVAL" WOULD BE THEIR EXPRESSION, THE FIVE WOULD CONTINUE TO USE "TO BE SATISFIED WITH".

(I) SWAPO DID ACQUIESCE IN ADVANCE CONTINGENCY PLANNING BY THE UN SECRETARIAT IN CONNECTION WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 385, BEARING IN MIND, OF COURSE, THAT NO FORMAL ACTION COULD BE TAKEN IN ADVANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL. WE ARE SPEAKING TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND URGING HIM TO INSTRUCT HIS STAFF TO BEGIN CONTINGENCY PLANNING, IN CONSULTATION WITH US.

(J) SWAPO REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN, WHICH WE ENTIRELY SHARE, ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION OF ETHNIC MILITARY FORCES AND THE OPEN SUPPORT WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN GIVING IN RECENT WEEKS TO THE TURNHALLE REPRESENTATIVES.
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WE POINTED OUT TO SWAPO, THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENTS UNDERLINED THE NEED FOR EARLY MOVEMENT TOWARDS AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT AND THE INSTALLATION OF A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN NAMIBIA. AS YOU KNOW, WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST BE IMPARTIAL, AND BE SEEN TO BE IMPARTIAL, PRIOR TO AND DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND DEMONSTRATE, DURING THIS NEGOTIATING PROCESS, GOOD FAITH BY THEIR ACTIONS.

(K) AS YOU WILL HAVE GATHERED FROM OUR EARLIER PRESENTATION, THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE PROPOSED PANEL OF JURISTS. HOWEVER, A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM SHOULD FALL INTO PLACE ONCE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE MAJOR ISSUES.

(L) AS REGARDS DETAINEES AND POLITICAL PRISONERS, SWAPO EXPRESSED THEIR DESIRE TO SEE ALL SUCH NAMIBIANS HELD BY SOUTH AFRICA RELEASED AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, WE REITERATED OUR VIEW THAT THE SAME PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO ALL NAMIBIANS, WHEREVER HELD, BUT THERE WAS NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER.

(M) WE MUST STRESS ONCE AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH IN TERMS OF ACHIEVING A RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE TO SOUTH AFRICA DELAYING THE GAZETTING OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL'S TERMS OF REFERENCE AND HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE TO COINCIDE WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

(N) THE CONTACT GROUP LOOK FORWARD TO A FURTHER ROUND OF TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH THEM AS TO THE LOCATION AND TIMING.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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